836 marriage. Therefore illicit love between cross-cousins is not
605 prohibited by society. As to the selection of mates, marriage procedure, the wedding ceremony, and other like subjects, these will be discussed in the next chapter.

●591 When a woman marries, she goes to stay with her husband. They have a small family of their own, living separately from the husband's parents and managing their own independent economic life. Upon the birth of a child, they themselves begin to assume parental responsibility.

The birthday of a Lolo man is not taken very seriously
527 until he reaches the age of forty. After forty, every birthday
574 is celebrated with a feast for which cattle is killed and prepared for food. Relatives and friends come to congratulate
[431] him with gifts of wine and sweets, while his son-in-law, sister's son, and others present cloth or cotton goods. The guests are entertained with food and wine by the host during a most enjoyable evening for the family.

764 Death and burial has many complicated forms of cere-
182 mony, most of them related to religion and magic. The bur-
[614] ial ceremony is the occasion for the largest clan gathering and has a great influence on Lolo social life. As death and burial are painful to those who survive, the blood kin of the deceased seem to forget how to act and behave themselves after much crying and wailing; so the neighbors and relatives come to offer their condolences and sympathy, while the formality of the ceremony helps the blood kin to overcome their psychological block and to return gradually to normal life. In the course of time, the burial ceremony becomes conventionalized and its prescribed forms are followed generation after generation. For this reason, it performs the important function of achieving social solidarity and the stabilization of human psychology. Several years ago when an old Lolo of the En-cha branch died, thousands of mourners came from all over Liang Shan to pay tribute, and the event aroused a great deal of excitement. This represents an abnormal aspect of Lolo life and helps to establish equilibrium and make adjustments in their social system. It also shows the close interrelationship between the family and clan kin as well as larger social groups.

½ [Errata. Should be crisis — analyst.]

585 On the fourth day the bride returns to her parents' house with the groom. They do not talk to each other on the way. Upon arrival, the new son-in-law greets his parents-in-law with offerings of sheep, pigs, and wine and is in turn entertained with wine by them. The same afternoon he returns
591 home without the bride, who remains in her parents' home. This custom is called tso-chia, meaning "staying home."

The tso-chia period varies from one or two years to three or five. During this inspection trip [58], the author frequently met brides who had been staying home with their parents. While there, she can enjoy a loose romantic life without
[837] being interfered with by father or elder brothers who pretend to pay no attention to her. During her stay with her parents, she wears the same dress as the bride. Day and night she chases and plays around with the young men of the neighborhood or her male cross cousins. She, too, enjoys sexual freedom.

During the same period the groom can also contact the bride and make love. It is only when the bride becomes pregnant that the groom takes her to his father's house. The first
843 848 child usually is not the child of the groom, but he has to recognize it as his child.

592 Having learned that his bride is pregnant, the groom immediately sets out to build a new house for the bride to live in as no married son can stay in the same house with his parents. After the husband and wife have formally lived together,
[583] the wife's father's family then sends the entire dowry to them.
[428] Among the Lolo, both male and female have the right of inheritance; therefore, the daughter's dowry is also a part of the property given her by her parents. It includes silver, slaves, food, oxen, sheep, and even land.

594 Because of this marriage relationship, the Lolo newly-
583 weds have the economic basis to establish a family. The house built for them by the parents of the man's family and the dowry sent by the girl's family all provide the economic conditions necessary for establishing a family. After that, the couple live a normal family life, both male and female cooperating in efforts for economic improvement. They bear and rear children to shoulder the common parental responsibility.

593 Although a Lolo wife is obtained through money pay-
562 ment and her marriage is one form of bartered marriage, she has the same position in the family as the man. Since they have a small family and do not live with the husband's parents, there is no problem of conflict between mother-in-law and

565 This accounts for the perpetual need of additional Wa-tzu by the I of
567 Liang-shan. For hundreds of years, there has always been in this region a hereditary Wa-tzu class. But since its population has remained sparse and the fertility of its soil is low, the only method of increasing the number of Wa-tzu is to capture men and women of other racial groups. In this case all the captives happen to be Chinese, who are the only people living in the surrounding areas. This practice of the I is still being perpetuated today in full force. Some state that the total number of Chinese captives has already reached several tens of thousands (although this figure may be highly exaggerated) and that a considerable number are still being captured at the present time. According to their distribution by the hsien, the largest number of captives are taken from Lei-po, and next from Yung-shan in Yünnan province, captives are also taken from Ma-pien, O-pien, Yüeh-sui, Hsi-ch'ang and others. The general practice of the I is first to separate the captives of the same family or village and to dispatch them to different districts to prevent their joining forces and escaping together. The captor is their first master who may then sell his newly acquired Wa-tzu for silver. After these Wa-tzu have been carried around and sold repeatedly--sometimes throughout the entire region of Liang-shan, having been captured at Lei-po and ending up in Hsi-ch'ang--there would be no means of escape. The family may attempt through a middleman to ransom a captive if it knows his or her whereabouts. In these transactions the I's only concern is silver, and the ransom exacted is always dozens of times higher than the market price at Liang-shan.

584 Strange to say, features of both the Orient and the Occident
591 may be found in the Liang-shan society. As in the West, a son, after his marriage, establishes his own family apart from his parents; as in the East, the family organization is patriarchal, and the parents who are despotic select mates for their sons and daughters. This selection is based on the principle of a suitable alliance in respect to property and wealth--a form of commercial marriage, /114/ typical of an Oriental society. The bride's family usually demands a large settlement in proportion to her own family's wealth. Therefore when an I takes a bride he may be obliged to spend his entire savings and even to go into debt his entire life. For this reason many people cannot
587 marry at all. One of the results is the development of the system of "wife transference" whereby "a younger brother marries his sister-in-law at the death of his elder brother." Although this practice seems

/171 cont'd/

L 582 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/ Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Mo [101] 121 Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

[179 cont.]

The head of the family exercises very great authority, to which 593 his children are completely amenable until the day when they establish new households.

[180] The customs relative to childbirth appear to present no 853 862 peculiarities other than the following:

Every three days the child is given a little chewed rice.

Nursing lasts only one year.

The "Lolo" sometimes adopt children, which families of their 597 tribe having numerous children either surrender or sell to them.

The adopted child takes the name of his new family and enjoys the same rights as the legitimate children.

The marriage request is made by two friends of the young man 584 who present themselves at the home of the young woman, carrying certain articles of food (fowl and rice).

A family council, made up of relatives of the young woman, examine and discuss the proposal. In case of refusal, the two intermediaries withdraw, carrying the articles of food. In case of acceptance, these articles of food are eaten on the spot.

The young man, advised of the favorable answer given his 583 proposal, returns with his two friends, carrying gifts, and settles with his future father-in-law the amount of the dowry, then the date 585 of the marriage. On the day agreed upon, the fiancée is conducted to the home of the young man, accompanied by her brothers and sisters, by two old women, and by the two intermediaries. When evening arrives, the marriage is celebrated by a great feast followed by dances. Six days later, the newlyweds spend two days in the home ● 591 of the young wife, then go and spend a night in the home of the husband. After this, the bride returns and resides in her parents' house, where she remains until the day that pregnancy appears certain. Then she comes to establish herself permanently in her husband's house.

We have already found this last custom among the "Tho" of the [171] Si Kiang and among the "Nung." This agreement is not lacking in interest. It has not been possible for us to determine the epoch to which this custom goes back among the "Lolo" of Tonkin.

The young folks may marry against the wishes of their parents, 583 as we have already seen among the "Méo." The young man carries